

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LOME 00152 191526Z

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-07 MMO-01 PM-04 SS-15 SP-02 IGA-02

DODE-00 EUR-12 /052 W

-----191543Z 097928 /54

R 191124Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY LOME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1619

C O N F I D E N T I A L LOME 0152

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, PFOR, US, TO

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR RECONSIDERATION OF 1963 DECISION TO EXCLUDE
TOGO FROM SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

REF: STATE 003021

1. EMBASSY IS PLEASED BY HELPFUL RESPONSE REFTEL TO
QUESTIONS WE POSED IN 76 LOME 2715.

2. MEANWHILE, IN LOME J000 EMBASSY NOTED CONTINUING
PREOCCUPATION TOGOLESE WITH SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN
WEST AFRICA AND FRANCO-TOGOLESE MILITARY COOPERATION
RE TRAINING, PROVISION OF EQUIPMENT, ETC. THIS CONCERN
TAKING ON NEW DIMENSION AS TOGO-IVORY COAST-NIGER AND
UPPER VOLTA CONTINUE APPARENT PLANS TO DEVELOP MILITARY
PACT WITH FRANCE FOR FRENCH REACTION FORCE TO BE
BASED IN IVORY COAST (LOME 0135).

3. FACT THAT MODERATE GOVERNMENTS THIS REGION TAKING
CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES POINTS TO A NEED
FOR USG TO ADDRESS A PROBLEM IN US-TOGOLESE
RELATIONS NOW RE SECURITY ASSISTANCE RATHER
THAN BE CONFRONTED WITH IT LATER UNDER MORE
PRESSING OR EMBARRASSING CONDITIONS. THIS IS
PROBLEM THAT AROSE WHEN SEVERAL WEST AFRICAN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LOME 00152 191526Z

COUNTRIES WERE MADE ELIGIBLE FOR SECURITY
ASSISTANCE BY PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION (PD)
IN, PERHAPS, 1963. TOGO WAS NOT INCLUDED AT
THAT TIME BECAUSE IT HAD RECENTLY UNDERGONE ITS
FIRST COUP, WHICH, AS THE DEPARTMENT WILL
RECALL, WAS THE FIRST PN BLACK AFRICA. PRESUMABLY,
THE RATIONALE AT THE TIME WAS TO DISCOURAGE

MILITARY INTERVENTION AGAINST ESTABLISHED CIVILIAN REGIMES.

4. SINCE 1963, THE CONTEXT OF THE DECISION HAS LOST ITS MEANING. IN 1965 WHEN TOGO--UNDER CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP AT THAT TIME--JOINED THE ENTENTE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC GROUPING OF MODERATE WEST AFRICAN STATES, THE EARLIER DECISION WAS NOT RPT NOT REVISED, AND TOGO BECAME THE ONLY ENTENTE STATE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE . NOR HAS THE WAVE OF COUPS WHICH HAS BROUGHT MILITARY REGIMES TO POWER IN HALF WEST AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND TO FOUR-FIFTHS OF THE ENTENTE STATES LED TO RECONSIDERATION OF TOGO'S EXCLUSION.

5. EMBASSY HAS NO DESIRE TO SUGGEST THAT US INABILITY TO ASSIST TOGO MILITARILY IS A BURNING ISSUE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE DO, HOWEVER, PAY A PRICE FOR WHAT THE TOGOLESE CONSIDER OUR INDIFFERENCE. AS OUR ABIDJAN-BASED MILITARY ATTACHE WAS BLUNTLY TOLD IN 1975 BY THE TOGOLESE ARMY'S SECOND-IN-COMMAND, COL. ASSILA, THE LACK OF ANY COOPERATION WITH THE TOGOLESE MILITARY SINCE INDEPENDENCE WAS AN OBSTACLE TO U.S. ACCESS TO TOGOLESE OFFICERS. BECAUSE OF THE PD PROBLEM NO TOGOLESE CAN PARTICIPATE IN U.S. MILITARY TRAINING OR ORIENTATION TOURS. THUS WE COULD NOT IMPLEMENT 1975 PARA DECISION TO SEND A TOGOLESE PARTICIPANT ON A MILITARY ORIENTATION TOUR.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LOME 00152 191526Z

BASICALLY, TOGOLESE OFFICIALS ARE AWARE OF OUR INADVERTENTLY DISCRIMINATORY POLICY AND IT IS AN UNNECESSARY IRRITANT.

6. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, A FAVORABLE PD IS NOT LIKELY TO LEAD TOGO TO TURN TO U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR ANY SIGNIFICANT PART OF ITS MILITARY NEEDS. TOGO HAS ACCOMPLISHED--WITHOUT U.S. INVOLVEMENT--A STEAD BUILD-UP OF ITS MILITARY FORCES; NOW OVER 4,000 MEN, WITH SUBSTANTIAL FRENCH BACKING AND RECENTLY AN ASSIST IN GRANT SMALL ARMS AND TRAINING FROM THE NORTH KOREANS. NIGERIA ASPDE, TOGO NOW PROBABLY HAS THE STRONGEST MILITARY FORCE IN PROPORTION TO ITS POPULATION IN WEST AFRICA.

7. THUS, THE ISSUE TURNS ON WHETHER A POLITICAL JUDGEMENT MADE IN THE KENNEDY ERA SHOULD BE RECONSIDERED NOW IN 1977 IN LIGHT OF CHANGED REALITIES.

IN LOME 0139, THE FACTS OF PRESIDENT EYADEMA'S NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STANDING AND INFLUENCE AFTER TEN YEARS OF RULE WERE SET FORTH. REALITIES HAVE CHANGED. TOGO IS OF MORE POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S. IN 1977 THAN IT WAS IN 1963. OUR POLICY SHOULD REFLECT THAT CHANGE AND WE SHOULD QUIETLY GO ABOUT MAKING THE NECESSARY BUREAUCRATIC ADJUSTMENTS THAT WOULD END THIS CONTINUING ANOMALY.

8. IT IS CLEARLY BETTER TO TAKE SUCH A DECISION NOW ON OUR OWN INITIATIVE WHEN IT CAN BE FULLY STAFFED OUT. WE SHOULD NOT WAIT FOR A TOGOLESE ASSISTANCE REQUEST, PERHAPS IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW AND DISQUIETING SOVIET MOVE, WHEN IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER BOTH THE QUESTION OF PD AND THE MERITS OF THE REQUEST JOINTLY AND IN CONDITIONS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LOME 00152 191526Z

OF HASTE AND POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT SHOULD THE U.S. WISH TO ASK TOGO TO HOST CERTAIN U.S. REGIONAL INSTALLATIONS LATER SUCH AS WACASC (LOME 072), THE REMOVAL NOW OF THIS PROBLEM WOULD FACILITATE FUTURE U.S. FREEDOM OF ACTION.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: AF SHOULD PREPARE A DECISION MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION TO THE SEVENTH FLOOR, AND IN THE CASE OF FAVORABLE RESPONSE, SEEK THE PD WHICH WOULD ALLOW TOGO TO PARTICIPATE IN THE U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.
PALMER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LOME00152
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770020-0115
Format: TEL
From: LOME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770138/aaaabgsj.tel
Line Count: 152
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: aceca2d4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 3021
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3560773
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REQUEST FOR RECONSIDERATION OF 1963 DECISION TO EXCLUDE TOGO FROM SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS
TAGS: MASS, PFOR, US, TO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/aceca2d4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009